342
412 Tools. The only tools used are the sitoiga (native pickaxe) and the wanka (hoe).

352 House furnishings. (a) The man's hut. The only furnishings in a man's hut are a mat or thin secco, a bolster made of cotton strips or kapok, a quiver, the club, some arrows, the bow, a large knife (zangoégo), and a spear. Small bags of charms and other amulets hang from the wall here and there, and there is a sort of oval straw basket, pilgou, in which clothing is stored.

(b) The woman's hut. From one end of the hut to the other there are billi, small pieces of wood fastened to the wall to hold gourds, bowls (lensé), earthenware basins (lassé), ladles (soutissi), etc.

In the rear of the room lumps of dried earth, [221] hollowed in the center, hold the vessels, and pots, dougdo, which serve both as storage bins for clothing and as granaries for the produce of the woman's own garden.

592 Plan of a compound. As one enters a compound, the huts to left are those of the women and the master's huts stand to the right. Completely outside the establishment, there are one or two straw huts, similar to those already described, which provide sleeping quarters for the dakompa (young men).

[595] The head of the establishment lives alone. It could hardly be otherwise, since he summons his wives in turn.

The women live with their young children or with girls betrothed to their husband, until, of course, these girls receive huts of their own.

343 Kitchen arrangements. It is exceedingly rare among the Mossi to find a hut used specifically for cooking. The wife's bedroom serves also as a kitchen.

592 Ordinarily the husband issues provisions to the wife who is
595 cooking for the family, but there are exceptions to this rule. At
●252 Ouagadougou, for example, most of the wives provide the food for the husband. The latter furnishes provisions only during the winter when the fields are being worked.

[222] The wives take turns preparing the food. The woman on duty is aided by her co-wives in grinding the millet on the millstone (néré) of the section, but she alone prepares the millet cake, sagbo.

312 hour for the impurities and the residue to settle to the bottom of
271 the vessel. Then the water is poured off into another container and is ready to be used for drinking or cooking.

[B24] (b) It is also possible to use an additive known as missim (crushed tamarind leaves). The water becomes clear, but it is, of course, somewhat sour. Although it may be drunk, it is
[55v] ideally suited to cooking since the Mossi add missim (from miki, "to make sour") even to the water of springs and wells before they use it to prepare their principal food, sagbo.

744 In the town of Ouagadougou frequent visits by the sanitary
312 officers remind the natives of the necessity of keeping fresh water in their containers. They are also encouraged to fill in during the winter the low places holding water where mosquitoes might breed.

515 Laundering. There is no doubt [231] that the Moaga is care-
296 less about the cleanliness of his clothing. There is no shortage of soap -- karite butter, of which it is made, is plentiful -- but he believes that frequent laundering will wear out his clothes too quickly. He also thinks -- which is childish -- that the dirtier a garment is, the cleaner it will wash. He thinks it completely ridiculous for clothes to be ironed. It must be admitted that among the Mossi only a married man can require his wives to wash his clothes. A mother also takes care of her children's clothes, but a bachelor is forced to wash his own things. This, we think, explains the extreme negligence shown by some of them
[46] who let their clothes get dirtier and dirtier. Indolence, alas, is one of the dominant defects of the native of Mossi country.

514 Toilet arrangements. In general the Mossi have no regular latrines. Men, women, in short, everyone, simply goes into the bush. The only exception is the very young children who take care of their needs on the threshold. At night, especially during the winter when the grain is fairly tall, grownups themselves go to the kamanga or karaga (millet or maize field near the living quarters).

364 When the town of Ouagadougou was made a mixed commune [Ed., smallest French territorial subdivision, with both French and native representation in the municipal council], it was possible to install, at municipal expense, a number of lavatories in certain

241 782 brothers of the family heads who died childless (zig'tinguin damba), and to the ancestors and grandparents. May they see to it that these offerings are accepted by the kinkirsi (spirits of the fields) and that the latter favor X with [242] good health and large crops of millet and beans."

[787] Once these sacrifices have been made -- if they are accepted, the rooster falls on its back -- the new owner has his land cleared and awaits the winter season.

Field work. As soon as the first rains have come, the owner goes once more to the field and has another rooster killed and offered to the kinkirga [singular of kinkirsi] with a plea for gnimassem (good health) and large harvests which he will consume with new wives and new children (pog'palla, la bipalla). Afterward he sows large and small millet, peanuts, beans, etc.

If the year has been a good one and the Moaga has had fine crops, he is happy and in good time will remember the spirit of the fields. For the moment he is busy transporting the millet to the temporary granary (lourgho).

Threshing millet. Before his millet is threshed, the Moaga must make a sacrifice to the zéiga (threshing floor). The ritual words differ from those described above only in the following words: "X asks that this millet, which he will eat, be good for him and that he eat it in peace and good health with his family." (Kita ri ki wan ne lafi layelsomdé né a zak'ramba.)

241 476 [243] He then appeals to the young men of the village for help in threshing his grain. For the occasion he has a great deal of beer prepared and quantities of beans (benga) cooked. The beans are [252] prepared with sesame (sinni). After the job is done, two children between the ages of six and seven are called, and their hands filled with the bean mixture. They must run around the threshing floor while eating some of the beans. The rest will be scattered to the winds. They must stop three times for breath and look at each other. Then the remaining beans are distributed among the workers. They are also given beer.

423 Do owners retain rights over abandoned land? In order to occupy abandoned land; permission must first be obtained from the former owner, who retains his rights over the land. He may reclaim it at

462 on the other hand, are female prerogatives; every woman knows how to make millet beer, soap, karite butter, and kalro (soumbara) with varying effectiveness.

273 Millet beer is brewed with sprouted millet, which is boiled and reboiled in a volume of water proportionate to the amount of grain; yeast is added to the brew on the last day. The liquid is strained through twigs to remove the residue of millet. The more the beer is boiled, the stronger it is; when hops are added, the beverage recalls our own beer.

388 Soap is made with karite butter to which the ashes of millet stalks are added for potash.

252 Oil is extracted from peanuts, previously roasted and crushed between two stones; the women have no press and therefore lose a considerable amount of oil, but it remains in the residue, which is also sold.

Kalro is made from the beans found in the pods of néré /locust bean tree/. It has a strong and characteristic odor, but it enhances the sauce with a not unpleasant flavor.

463 The pottery, wood, and copper industries are carried out by specialists. This does not mean that only the members of a caste may exercise them, but that an apprenticeship is required which is not undergone by everyone, and that people bequeath to their children the secrets of the trade.

323 /58/ Pottery is chiefly made by women, although the men may
462 also work with clay and actually often make jars (canari), while the women make the large jars which are used in brewing millet beer, small pots in which they cook sarabo and sauce, and shallow dishes which are used to serve food.

323 The molding and firing methods are similar. A shallow pit is dug into the ground, larger or smaller depending on the size desired for the jar. The walls of the hole are pounded smooth. The woman places in this mold the prepared clay, previously kneaded with the feet and any stones removed. The clay is slightly damp, and the pit is dusted with dry earth. The woman spreads the clay with a well-polished granite stone and makes it revolve so that every portion of the clay is worked between the stone and the pit wall. After a while, she obtains the jar she wants in the proper thickness.

When several potters live in the same village, as usually happens, they get together for the firing. The jars are marked and gathered in

5: Hammond E-5 (1954-1956) 1959
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received, gossip exchanged, and social and ceremonial obligations discussed in its shade. Here, also, the men of the lineage take their meals, brought out to them from the kitchens of their wives and set before them by their sons, who first attend their fathers and then dine on what remains.

A few paces away is the grinding platform (*nere*) where the women gather to prepare the grain for their families' meals. This great circular mud table, some twenty feet in diameter, is raised about three feet from the ground. Its surface is beaten hard and worked over with cinders and manure to make it rainproof. Each woman has her assigned place at this platform where she keeps her pestle and where she stations herself at dawn and again at dusk to grind her millet and learn the news of the day.

Frequently found at the outer perimeter of the dwelling of the Mossi kin group is the house of the son of a lineage woman who has returned from his father's household to live in the benevolent presence of his mother's family, with whom he enjoys an especially permissive relationship. The house set aside for the residence of the young unmarried men of the lineage is also located on the outer edge of the compound dwelling.

A recent addition to the traditional pattern of village organization described above is the independent households of socially ambitious individuals who have chosen to separate themselves from the residences of their lineages in order to profit from their own economic or religious enterprises. Many have become independently wealthy through successful commercial ventures; others, as a result of conversion to Islam, have gained prestige through religious authority and wealth through the tuition and services provided by the Koranic students. Often these people are much younger than their lineage elders, not in line for the inheritance of political or religious authority through traditional channels, and unwilling either to accept the authority of their seniors or to share economically with the less prosperous members of their lineages. They are deviants, in conflict with the communal patterns of consumption and with the emphasis on accepting established authority which characterizes the traditional social organization of the Mossi.

THE TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

Much agricultural endeavor is necessarily co-operative. Each farmer is dependent on the assistance of his kinsmen to get his fields seeded, cultivated, and harvested in the short time during which each of these operations must take place. However, the yield from his field remains his own, to be shared only with his own wives and children. Members of the lineage also work in the fields under the specific control of the lineage elder. Although the harvest from these fields is stored in the granary [i.e. at a sun shelter in the entrance-way. – Analyst]

243 Kassouna. We have already seen that the Kassonboura once grew it extensively. The Boussansé also cultivate it.

On the other hand, the Mossi grow a little sweet millet (or tiokandé). They call it mobinoro. This is the sampa of the Bambara, the gamba of the Kassonboura. The Mossi, like the Kassonboura and Bambara, sow this millet in small quantities in the maize fields that surround the soukala. The Nounouma, Kassonfra, and Sissala do not cultivate it.

222 Aside from cultivated millet, the Mossi are familiar with the bakat or wild millet, also called "bird's millet." They call it nadanga. This is the bouaboua of the Bambara, the mintoro of the Kassouna. Among the Mossi, in times of famine, the women go and cut it down, lay it in the sun to dry and crush it, for it contains a small edible grain. There is little to be found in Gouroungа territory, although some of it does grow by the watercourses /marigots/ and could be utilized in times of famine.

243 /471/ Aside from millet, the food crop most extensively cultivated by the Mossi is maize, which they call kamana. Maize is grown around the soukala itself rather than in the bush. It is sown at the beginning of the rainy season. First the soil is turned up with the ouaka, and then holes are made with a koutiaga or hatchet. Two or three grains of maize are placed in each hole, and then covered up. Once this has been done the millet is allowed to grow, and when the stalk has come out of the ground the weeds are cleared with the ouaka. After this it takes two months and ten days for the maize to ripen. It is harvested in August, first among the grains. The stalks are dug out or cut down with a daba, or else they are simply broken by hand.

Once the stalks have been laid down, the ears are cut off. They are left to dry in the sun on the roofs, where they are suspended in [251] clusters. Then they are stored in the grain hut, from which they are removed when the kernels are to be made into flour.

● 252 It often happens that instead of being left to dry, the ears of maize are eaten green, roasted on the embers.

After the maize has been stored and allowed to dry, the women pound the kernels into flour. This flour is placed in boiling water to make soft cakes which are eaten immediately.

243 Maize, let us point out, is one of those crops that are harvested early. The Mossi, and as we know all black populations of West

243 Africa as well, have two harvests, one in August and the other in November-December. The latter is by far the more important, but in order to prevent famine while waiting for it, these peoples also have early, quick-growing crops that yield from the second half of July, in August primarily, up to the middle of September. Among these crops, the most important may well be the maize sown in April and harvested in August, but there are others, such as the early millet mentioned above and also the large red millet. The most important crops (small millet, large white millet), on the other hand, are sown in May or earlier, or sometimes not until July, and harvested in November and December.

/472/ The Mossi also grow a little rice (moï in Mossi). The kind they cultivate is water rice /riz d'eau/. It is sown along watercourses and ponds. This is the most difficult crop to cultivate, according to the old men.

[354] At the present day poor people grow a little rice. In former times they did not grow it at all, and chiefs alone cultivated it. Even now, it is largely grown by chiefs.

Rice is sown in May after millet. The field is worked with a special daba, the souga, which is used to turn up the soil. Little holes are made with a koutiaga, and from seven to ten grains of rice are placed in each hole and covered with a little soil. Then, the rice is left to grow. It comes out of the ground at the end of seventeen days. During the rainy season, the waters of the watercourse or pond cover the small rice field. Weeds are removed, inside the water, with the ouaka. The harvesting is done during the second half of October, before the small millet and large white millet are gathered. The rice stalks are cut down with a kind of scythe and spread upon the ground to dry in the sun. Then, both men and women thresh it with sticks. Sometimes the stalks are taken into the soukala instead, left to dry for three days in the courtyard, and then threshed.

[351] The straw is discarded. When there is only a little rice, it is kept in a canari. When there is a lot, it is stored in baskets which in turn are placed in little straw huts raised on stakes.

262 252 The Mossi, who in short grow very little rice, claim that they prefer millet to rice. Millet, they say, provides more energy. Rice is eaten boiled, with meat if possible, and the whole thing is served with peanut or gombo /Tr. okra/ sauce.

244 The Mossi grow considerable quantities of peanuts (nangouri in Mossi, n'tiga in Bambara, gherté in Peuhl and Toucouleur).

No earth mounds are made for the cultivation of peanuts among the Mossi. The peanuts are sown five or six days after the millet. Holes are made with a koutiaga, one or two peanuts are placed in each hole and then covered up. When the shoots appear, the weeds are removed with the ouaka. When the peanuts are ripe (end of October), the pods are dug up with the ouaka. /473/ They are left 251 to dry in the sun for three or four days, and then they are taken to the village in baskets. Again the peanuts are left to dry on the clay roofs of the huts, and then placed in the little straw huts already mentioned from which they are removed only to be eaten. The 252 peanuts are roasted. They are also used, although not very often, to prepare sauces eaten with millet.

231 The greens of the plant do not go to waste. They are gathered and given to horses, and make excellent fodder for them.

244 In addition to peanuts, the Mossi grow considerable quantities of underground peas. Not everyone grows them, however. The underground peas are sown after all the other grains and tubercles.

The grass is cut on the spot where the peas are to be grown, but it is left there to serve as fertilizer. Then, holes are made into the ground with the koutiaga, and the sowing is done. When the plant begins to shoot, the weeds are pulled out by hand rather than with the ouaka, since the latter would remove everything. The underground peas ripen in three months. They are gathered at the same time as the peanuts, that is to say, in October. The peas are dug 251 out of the soil with the ouaka. They are cleaned, left to dry, placed 252 in baskets, and carried to the little straw huts. They are eaten boiled.

244 The Mossi also grow sesame, which they call sili. They cultivate it in small bush plots. Sesame is sown at the height of the winter season, three months after the first rains. The soil is scraped with the ouaka, and the grains carried in a little gourd are spread upon the ground. The sesame emerges from the ground ten days later. Men, women, and children pull out the weeds by hand. The harvesting is done when the stalks have reached 1.50 meters in height (immediately following the harvest of the small millet). The stalks are severed at mid-height with a knife and then laid out on

244 mats in the sun to dry. Finally, the sesame seeds are beaten loose with a piece of wood.

● 252 The Mossi ordinarily use these seeds in the sauce. The women crush them on a stone, boil them, and add salt and soumbara /néré seeds/. This sauce is eaten with millet, /474/ maize, etc. Sometimes the fresh seeds are also eaten after roasting on the fire.

244 The Mossi also grow some beans (benna or binga in Mossi, soso in Mandé, niébé in Peuhl). They do not cultivate them in separate plots, but sow them in the millet fields along with the millet. The stalks creep along the ground. The beans are ripe before the millet.

It is the women and children, equipped with baskets, who do the harvesting (November). Then the pods are laid out on the ground and threshed by the men with sticks. The beans are picked [253] and placed in the straw huts. To eat them, one simply boils them and adds salt.

[184] The Mossi grow some sweet potatoes (nanioua in Mossi, nanioura in Nounouma). The Mossi who live around Ouagadougou do not grow any. Those who live around Kombisiguiri grow some. A few Tenkodogo Mossi also cultivate them. The potatoes are planted along the watercourses around July 15, that is to say, at the height of the rainy season. Small earth mounds are built, with holes at the top. Potato slices are placed in these holes and covered with earth. When the sowing is done, the work is over. No attempt is made to pull out the weeds. The harvesting is done at the end of three [252] months, consequently around October 15. The potatoes are dug out with the ouaka, carried to the huts, and eaten boiled in water.

The Mossi grow some ozonifie /a potato-like plant/ (pèsa in Mossi, kayya in Nounouma and Kassouna, fabirama in Mandé) around the soukala or in the bush. They build small earth mounds with the ouaka, then make holes in these mounds with the koutiaga, and place one tubercle in each hole. They cover up the holes and spread the ground with fertilizer consisting of straw and grass, refuse taken from the soukala or gathered around it. The harvesting is done in November. At that time, the ozonifie are dug out with the ouaka. They are placed in a canari pending their consumption. [252] They are eaten boiled.

2144 All Mossi grow ozonifie. They like it, but do not cultivate it in large quantities. It has to be planted in damp places. Some people plant it in the bush, others in the villages, but always near a spot where there is water.

[184] /475/ The Mossi hardly grow any yams (nioua or niouya in Mossi, pia in Nounouma, kou in Mandé). The southern Mossi alone cultivate it, and very little at that, in Kombisiguiri for example.

Here yams are sown in November along watercourses. Earth mounds 50 centimeters high and correspondingly wide are built with the ouaka. Then holes are made with a stick at the top of these little pyramids. Yam slices are cut, buried in these holes, and covered with earth. Then a prop is driven into the ground. The stem of the yam plant emerges from the ground and climbs along the prop. Seven months are required for the root, the yam itself, to reach its proper thickness and ripeness. During the month of April, therefore, a certain number of yams are dug out of the ground with the ouaka. The greatest number are left there, however, the soil is replaced, and the major harvest, the total harvest, is only taken in November, that is to say, a year after sowing.

[252] To eat yams, one cuts them into pieces and boils them in water.

[177] As for manioc (boumboro in Nounouma), it was unknown to the Mossi until the arrival of the French. The latter brought a few stalks, but the natives do not cultivate it as yet.

As far as diabéré is concerned (kousoubadé in Mossi, diabéré in Mandé), the Mossi grow a little of it. It is sown at the time of the first rains in the fields of maize or large red millet, that is to say, around the soukala. Holes are made with the koutiaga, and small tubercles are placed within them. The plant is harvested one month after maize, that is, in September.

In Mossi territory, it is cultivated chiefly by the Yarsé, for example those of Rakaye and Saraboutenga.

The Mossi themselves cultivate it little, and the same applies to the Bambara. The Gourounsi and Boussansé do not grow it at all.

[253] The diabéré is cooked in water, peeled, and eaten as it is.

According to Guebhardt (Au Gouta-Djallon /In the Fouta Djallon/, 1910), the diabéré (the Poullo /Fulani/ name) is really taro (Caladium antiquorum or esculentum).

244 same as that of the tubercle, to which they adhere strongly. Their
137 color is also the same. The flesh of these turions is white, highly aqueous, and compact. It recalls that of the potato, or rather that of the sweet potato. The odor is slightly noxious.

244 "The diabéré are sown in June and July. It is sufficient to place the turions in a hole dug into the ground to a depth of 10 or 15 centimeters. The harvesting is done in December. Around the end of October or beginning of November, the inhabitants of the Sandougou (Upper Gambia) are in the habit of cutting the leaves to a height of about 10 centimeters from the ground, in order to make the turions grow bigger.

252 "The diabéré is not a vegetable to be scorned even by the delicate palate of the Europeans. When boiled or fried in the pan, it makes a dish of pleasant taste. I recall eating it with pleasure in a mutton stew. The natives prefer it boiled, and in certain areas, for example the Diaka, Sandougou, and Tenda, they eat it in large quantities. In the latter region especially it is consumed intensively, and the natives of neighboring territories attribute the [164] skin disease and numerous goiters of the Tenda inhabitants to their over-indulgence in this food." (Pages 83 to 85.)

246 The Mossi also cultivate karyanga or karnyanga. "This gramineous plant," says the Cahier des rapports /Production Report) of the Ouagadougou circle, "grows wild along watercourses, but the natives also cultivate it around the edges of their millet fields. The stalk, hairy and rough, reaches a /478/ height of 0.80 meter when full grown. It expands into a sheaf near the tip. The leaves, about 3 centimeters wide, are shaped like very elongated spearheads. When still green, they are severed about 20 centimeters from the ground. Then they are left to dry in the sun and stored for consumption during the dry season. The karyanga serves as fodder for livestock and horses. This plant is quite widespread in the eastern and southeastern parts of Mossi territory (Béloussa and Tenkodogo)."

As we can see, karyanga is a grass that grows in the bush along watercourses and that is cut down and fed to horses. Some horse owners cut it down and replant it in their maize field. In the

246 following year seeds fall to the ground and the grass grows back once more. It is cut down, but not at ground level, so that it will perpetuate itself.

The Gourounsi call it keulo. They merely cut it down in the bush, and do not replant it among the maize. It grows in sufficient quantities in the open bush of Gourounsi territory, which is more extensive than that of Mossi country, to preclude the need of replanting.

244 The Mossi cultivate gombo (mana in Mossi, pora in Nounouma and Kassouna, gouan in Mandé). Every Mossi grows some for the sauce.

They sow it during the damp season at the same time as the millet, in small separate plots. They turn up the soil a little with the ouaka, make holes with the koutiaga, put in gombo seeds, and cover up the holes. One allows the plant to grow, digs out the weeds with the ouaka, and then waits for two months. At that time the enormous gombo stalk, which is even higher and sturdier than maize, has grown out and borne its greenish, slightly elongated and ribbed pods. Then, the ripest pods are gathered and cut up for the sauce. The harvesting is done gradually, from September 15 until the end of December.

●252 To prepare gombo, one cuts the pods into pieces and leaves them to dry. When some gombo is needed, these pieces are crushed /479/ and reduced to a sort of powder which is boiled in water. The fresh gombo pods may also be utilized. They are cut into pieces and boiled in the same fashion. Salt and soumbara are added. This makes a sort of paste, greenish and sticky, which is highly prized by the natives.

244 We stated above that the Mossi grow gombo in small isolated plots along the watercourses. This does happen, but often, like other Blacks, they merely sow a few stalks of gombo among their maize.

438 The gombo is sold in dried pieces at Mossi markets.

252 Let us add that gombo leaves, when tender, are also used in sauce.

244 The Mossi also grow sorrel.

They have two kinds, the dakissé sorrel and the dangono sorrel. These are Bambara names. In Mossi, dakissé is called bi and dangono is called ouéréda.

The Mossi plant bi around the millet fields at the same time as millet, at the beginning of the winter season. Holes are made with a koutiaga for the seeds, which are put in by hand and covered with earth. Then the plants are allowed to grow. After three months, the sorrel is ripe. The leaves are then removed to be used in the sauce, and the stalk is cut at mid-height to get the seeds, which are also used in the sauce.

[71] Like the Bambara, the Mossi sometimes plant both kinds of sorrel in the peanut and underground pea lougan, and sow them along with these plants when the first rains begin to fall. The sorrel is gathered eight days after the peanuts and underground peas.

250 The Mossi cook dakissé seeds in a canari full of water. Then they remove the jar from the fire and top it with another one that covers the mouth of the first jar completely. This is allowed to sit for four or five days, and then the dakissé seeds are removed and ground in a small mortar to make flour.

Then the ashes of burnt wood are placed with water in a perforated gourd that serves as a filter. /480/ The ashes are filtrated into a canari that stands underneath. They are then mixed with dakissé flour and transferred to a canari that is left covered for five or six days. When these are over, the mixture is cooked for the last time. It is placed in a gourd that is perforated and that sits on a canari full of water. The water is heated, and the vapor comes in through the small holes in the upper gourd and steams the dakissé for an hour. The paste thus obtained is dried in the sun for a whole day, and then placed in a canari where it is sought as the need arises.

Like the Bambara the Mossi sometimes take the dakissé seeds, mix them with millet grains, boil the whole thing, and then eat it.

As for the leaves, they are cooked by being placed in water and boiled with salt.

As far as dangono or ouéréda is concerned, the Mossi, like the Bambara, remove the bark. They allow this bark to cook in water, and add crushed peanuts and salt. The sauce thus obtained is called ziédo by the Mossi and na by the Bambara.

252 The ouéréda is also used as a substitute for tamarind fruit in the preparation of to sauce. The ouéréda bark is boiled, and millet flour is tossed into the water when the latter comes to a boil. Now the to need only be stirred and then transferred with huge wooden spoons to the gourd where it will be eaten.

Those who like ouéréda with meat, or who wish to cure a cold, boil the bark along with meat and eat it in this fashion.

As for ouéréda seeds, they are prepared exactly in the same manner as the bi seeds, and that is rather involved.

244 We have stated that the Mossi sow bi and ouéréda along the edges of millet fields, or even cultivate it in small separate plots. Let us add that the latter are tended by the women. The soukala heads merely sow both kinds of sorrel along the edges of their millet fields. In any case, when the Mossi have just cleared a plot, they often sow it with beans, sesame, bi, and ouéréda in the first /481/ year. It is only in the following year that they sow it with millet.

The Mossi also grow tomatoes.

There are many kinds in their territory, as among the Bambara.

The tomato is called koumba in Mossi. The bitter tomato is called koumba-gara or koumgara. The red tomato is called koumba-migou or kommigou. The white tomato is called koumba-pelra or koumpelra. In Bambara, the bitter tomato is called n'koyo ninkouna, the red tomato or cherry-tomato is called n'koyo bilé, and the white tomato is called n'koyo dié.

Like the Bambara, the Mossi, both men and women, grow tomatoes in separate plots. They first sow the seeds in a small space, no larger than a handkerchief, which they fertilize with wood ashes and sheep or goat dung. At the end of thirty days, when the plant has reached a few centimeters in height, they take it out and plant it in its permanent spot, again near the soukala, which they fertilize in the same manner as before. The tomatoes are ripe two months after sowing. If they are poorly tended, they only reach maturity at the time of the maize harvest (August). The green tomatoes are [252] eaten as fruit. The ripe tomatoes are cooked and mashed in the sauce. When the maize is harvested, all remaining tomatoes are removed.

249 415 It is gathered when the winter season is over. The upper tip is cut horizontally to create an opening, and water is poured inside to rot the fibrous inner part. When this is accomplished, the calabash is filled with pebbles and shaken until the torn fibers are removed. Once this has been done, the binga is ready to use. When they go [482] on a trip, the Mossi carry it suspended from the shoulder as a drinking gourd, like all Blacks of West Africa. /483/ They use a cork of green leaves to prevent the water from escaping.

3. The green gourds properly so called (kamboudou in Mossi) which are made to grow on the roofs. The Mossi do not eat them any more than they eat the two previous species. They cut them in two and fashion them into small household calabashes.

249 -Calabashes are not cultivated as a food crop, therefore, but as a crop ranking with karnyanga, cotton, tobacco, hemp, indigo, etc.

244 The Mossi also grow a kind of large cucumber, yorolé. The Gourounsi call it gango and the Bambara dié.

At the beginning of the winter season, yorolé are planted around the soukala where the household refuse is discarded. Yorolé are planted by the women. Weeds, when they come out, are cleared with the ouaka. The yorolé are harvested immediately [252] after the millet and stored in the huts. They are cooked in water and eaten as they are, without seasoning or salt.

As for niri (the Mossi word) or yergan (the Nounouma word), it is a small gourd the size of an orange, green or yellowish green, that grows in the fields along the ground. The yergan are gathered when they are ripe, placed in a hole in the ground where they are left to rot, and then washed. Then the seeds are removed and used [252] in the sauce, or else they are eaten roasted and seasoned with salt. One does not eat the yergan themselves, therefore, but only their seeds.

The Mossi grow them in the south, at Nobéré and Rakaye. The yergan are sown at the same time as millet, around the soukala, in the fields of maize and large red millet. They are gathered during the first half of October.

231 also sold to shoemakers, who need it to rub and soften their hides.
237 In former days wax was given rather than sold. Nowadays it is sold because of the need for cash occasioned by the tax. As for honey,
[262] it is eaten pure, or with milk, or mixed with sarabout. It is also
272 made into a drink called bésou, béci, or bici, which is no other than hydromel. The latter is known, incidentally, throughout West Africa.

The Nounouma call it torosana, from sana, "drink" and toro, "honey." The Kassouna call it by the same name.

The women make hydromel as follows. They boil water, pour the honey into it, and stir. Then they add small-millet flour. The mixture is stirred with a piece of wood and then strained to rid the drink of /493/ all impurities. It is poured into a clean canari,
[435] which is carefully covered. At the end of two days, one has a yellowish drink which is worth 400 cowries or 0.40 franc a liter at Ouagadougou. Among the Nounouma, where honey is more abundant than among the Mossi, the liter is worth 0.20 franc (at Leo, for example). Hydromel is stronger and more potent than dolo, and one must be careful not to drink too much.

252 The Mossi also make little cakes with honey and millet flour. They call them baradaré. These cakes are not made by the Gourounsi.

231 This concludes our review of Mossi stockbreeding. Generally speaking, as we have seen, it is quite mediocre with the exception of two specialities, donkeys and horses. As far as donkeys are concerned, although the Mossi are no traders and have only begun to do a little trading since we occupied their territory, they have always liked the animals and used them either for their own transport or to carry grain. They have an average of one donkey per 42 inhabitants, while the Dagari only have one per 1,000, the Nounouma one per 166, the Sissala one per 55, the Kassonboura one per 50. In this respect, the Mossi run second only to the traders, the Yarsé, who have a pressing need for donkeys in connection with their trade and who have one per 23 inhabitants.

As for horse raising, the Mossi have left it to the Foulbé of Mossi territory. The Mossi nevertheless have an average of one horse per 166 inhabitants among the common people, and one per

222 predominates in the bush of the territory and which, owing to its
137 abundance, lends the bush its particular character.

The karité fruit is an egg-shaped, elongated chestnut, smaller than the fruit of the European chestnut tree. It is distinguished from it even more clearly by its fleshy covering with its greenish skin. This flesh is soft, quite thick, and tastes delicious, like a very ripe, even overripe pear.

222 It is the women who gather the karité when the fruit is ripe,
252 before the rainy season, at the beginning of April. First, the flesh surrounding the chestnut is eaten /496/. Then, after breaking the brown shell, the inner part is used to make the famous karité butter.

257 As everywhere else, it is the women who do this among the Mossi. They remove the shell of the chestnut, and then mash the sticky and whitish substance which is found inside. It is pounded on crushing stones with a little wooden pestle. Once this is done, the substance is cooked in a canari and then mashed again, this time in the large wooden mortars, until the paste acquires the consistency of butter. Then it is pounded once more between crushing stones. When this is over, the paste is placed in a canari with lukewarm water, and then stirred and manipulated by hand. This produces a sort of dirty-white cream, somewhat similar to beaten egg whites, but firmer. Then this cream is boiled until it changes into oil. The impurities drop to the bottom of the canari, and the oil floats. The latter is gathered, placed in a clean gourd, and allowed to cool. The result is a pale yellow butter. At first sight it looks like real butter, but when sniffed it reveals a characteristic odor which is unpleasant to Europeans.

Gourounsi women prepare karité butter in the same manner as Mossi women.

302 This butter is put to various uses. First of all, it is utilized for grooming purposes. The women especially rub it into their hair in copious quantities, not only among the Mossi but throughout the Sudan as well. This, naturally enough, lends them an aroma which
[388] is not very pleasant to European noses. Karité butter is also made into soap when certain ashes are added. Finally, it is used in cooking.

423 The karité trees standing in a field belong to the owner of the field. Those which stand in the bush belong to the people of the

423 village in whose territory the bush is located. They belong to all the people of the village, for Mossi chiefs have not set those trees aside for themselves as they did with the néré trees.

222 137 The néré are found in large numbers in Mossi territory, although they are far less numerous than the karité, which literally fill the bush. The ratio must be something like one /497/ néré for every fifteen karité. The néré is nevertheless far from rare, and sometimes ten or fifteen are to be found together, standing not far apart. The néré is easily distinguished by its branches which expand in a fanlike arrangement from a short but elegant trunk. The branches spread out very prettily, in triangular fashion, so the néré blossoms out like a shower of fireworks. Its leaves are no less characteristic than its shape. They are of a dark, oxydized green which contrasts with the superb brilliant green of the karité. The néré leaves are similar to those of the acacia.

The néré is called roga or goaga, doga or doaga in Mossi. It is called soungou in Nounouma and Kassouna, sôla in Sissala. The Nankana call it roga or doga like the Mossi.

The fruits of the néré are long brown pods that grow in clusters on the tree and that contain a yellow substance, sweet to the taste, packed around a sort of very elongated pit. The women gather these 222 423 fruits approximately from March 15 to April 15. The neré trees standing in a field belong to the owner of the field, but the Mossi village chiefs claim ownership to those that stand in the uncultivated bush.

Among the Gourounsi, as we know, the néré that stand in a field, even if the latter is not being cultivated at the moment, belong to the owner of the field, while those that stand in the uncultivated bush surrounding the village belong to all the people of the village.

This points up the difference between a centralized kingdom where the authority of the chiefs is strong, and small independent cantons or villages where it is not.

252 261 Néré is put to many uses. First of all, the yellow meal, including the more solid central part that runs from one end of the pod to the other like a pit, is mashed by the women in millet mortars or in wooden gourds. Once mashed, it is thinned with

252 boiling water and eaten in this fashion. This is an important source
261 of food in times of famine which, when they come among the Blacks, usually come in May, June, and the first half of July. The néré gathered in March and April comes just in time to combat the famine.

/498/ As for the seeds of the fruit, they are removed and set
252 aside before the sweet meal is mashed. They are preserved to make
263 kologo (the Mossi name) or soumbara (the Mandé name), a pungent condiment highly prized by the Blacks. In order to make this, the women boil the seeds, allow them to cool, stamp on them to remove the skin, and wash them carefully at the watercourse. Sometimes the skin is removed by hand. Then they are cooked for 24 hours, and steeped in water for another 48 in a well-covered canari, in the shade, in a damp spot, to rot the seeds. Then they are laid to dry in the sun on a mat for two days, and pressed with the hands into balls of varying size. It is in this shape that the soumbara is utilized or sold. In Mossi territory, small balls are
[435] worth 100 cowries apiece and large ones 300. At Leo, in Nounouma territory, all balls are the same size and worth 100 cowries. In appearance, the kologo is rather similar to that black coloring matter used by French housewives to add substance to the broth. Whenever a woman wants to use some kologo, to add some to the sauce, she pries loose a small piece from the ball with the tip of a knife and mashes it with the crushing stone. She pours the resulting powder into the sauce.

356 Let us note further that the bark of the néré pod is also used, although not for eating purposes. The Mossi and Gourounsi use it to blacken and polish the floor of their huts and clay roofs. The néré bark is seeped in water for one day, and then the water is tossed on the surface to be polished, that has been tamped down carefully first. The floor is tamped again with the water, and then allowed to dry. This is done three or four times, and in the end the clay surface acquires a handsome black or grey polish. It almost becomes a mirror if the procedure is carried out properly.

284 Finally, to close our list of the uses to which néré is put, we
291 have seen that the brown filaments that grow on the bark of the néré pod are used among the Gourounsi to make belts for /499/ the women, or rather cords to hold up the bunches of leaves that constitute the sole garment of local ladies.

222 Let us now proceed to the baobab.
137 It is called touéra or touéga in Mossi (sira or izira in Bambara). It is to be found most everywhere in the Mossi bush, and especially in rocky, hilly spots near large streams.

The fruit of the baobab is gathered from December to April. It is a sort of huge green almond hanging from a stem that often
● 252 reaches 25 or 30 centimeters in length. Onè breaks the shell, removes the flesh, and mashes it in the mortar (this, of course, is done by the women). Once this is done, the resulting meal is strained through a straw strainer. It is now ready to eat.

This is called toïdésoum in Mossi, tiondé-boé in Peuhl, siramogou in Mandé (from sira, "baobab" and mogou, "flour").
[438] Colloquially, Europeans call it "monkey bread." It is sold on Mossi markets as on the markets of Bambara country.

To prepare it for consumption, this meal is thinned with milk, or water if there is no milk, or else mixed with millet flour. The latter mixture is called sangaré ni siramogou in Bambara ("millet flour and baobab flour"). The meal may also be mixed with néré flour.

It is not only the fruit of the baobab, however, that is utilized. The fresh green leaves are used as a sauce ingredient. The dried leaves are used to make tonéra (lalo in Foutanké /Futajalonke?/, namourou or namougou in Bambara, oro in Peuhl). The leaves are dried and crushed in a mortar to make a powder that is added to sauce.

283 Finally, let us add that the bark of the baobab is used to make rope.

222 After the karité, néré, and baobab, we must list the tamarind
137 tree (Tamarindus indica), kousouga or poussouga in Mossi, n'tomi in Bambara.

222 The fruit of the tamarind is a pod, longer than a finger /500/
137 and about the same thickness, that ripens between January and April.
263 It is a yellow-green brown. When cut along its length, it is found to contain some ten little round fruits, the size of half a hazelnut, lying in a row within the greenish pulp. Only the dried pod is used, after removing the little fruits which have a rather pleasing taste when fresh, something between the kola nut and the hazelnut. When the pod is dry, however, the fruits are also dried out and hard, and they are discarded.

222 137 Now for the kankanga (plural kankansé; the Bambara and Malinké call it n'toro, the Foulbé guip-bi, and the Nounouma /504/ kaporo). The kankanga is the native fig tree of West Africa. Its fruits are none other than figs, not as good to be sure as those eaten in Europe, but figs nevertheless. The Mossi, as well as the Gourounsi, Bambara, etc., usually eat these figs as they are. There are ripe ones to be found at all times of the year, and one plucks them at will. 252 261 In times of famine, instead of eating them in this fashion, one allows them to dry in the sun and then mashes them on crushing stones (among the Mossi) or in small mortars (among the Bambara), They are thus made into a sort of meal which is boiled and which serves as a substitute for millet flour. At such times the Mossi also eat the leaves of the kankanga. They cook them in boiling water and add salt.

252 As for the Gourounsi, sometimes they eat the figs fresh, and sometimes they prepare them for their sauces. In the latter case they boil them, cut them to pieces, and dry them in the sun. When the pieces are quite dry they are laid aside, and whenever needed one of them is mashed, reduced to powder, and added to the sauce.

222 137 Now for nobora or noboga (n'kouna in Mandé, kountan in Khassonké /Kasonke/, hèdè in Foulbé and Toucouleur, kounguié in Sarakolé, salo in Nounouma, kansalo in Kassouna).

The nobora is a kind of wild plum tree. Its fruits ripen from the time when millet is sown until the time when it reaches a height of 80 centimeters, that is to say, between May and July.

273 The fruits of the n'kouna are either eaten fresh or made into a sort of drink called noborame in Mossi, n'kounangui in Mandé, n'diam hèdam in Foulbé. In all three tongues, this means "nobora (or n'kouna) water." This drink is known throughout the Sudan.

In order to prepare this drink, the fruits are placed in water after being pricked with a small piece of wood to let the juice run, and they are left there for twelve hours. At the end of this period of time, they are removed and the water is boiled for a /505/ quarter of an hour. Once this is done, one takes some of the residue left at the bottom of the canari in which dolo is made, and puts it in the jar containing n'kounangui. The liquid is allowed to rest for one night. In the morning, the drink is gaseous and ready for consumption. It is not as strong as dolo.

222 and very peculiar fruit. The latter, which grows at the tip of
137 young boughs, is shaped like a huge pod whose pulpy valves open when pressure is exercised along the convex ridge. Its free tip is equipped with a sort of pulpy appendage shaped like a thorn, about 0.06 meter in length. When ripe, the fruit is of a distinctive light-red color. It contains a dozen polyhedral seeds immersed in a yellowish flesh which is tasty and highly fragrant. It is one of the best desserts I came across in the Sudan, and we often feasted on it. The fruits are clustered in bunches of three, five, or seven, and strongly fastened to the peduncle and stem that hold them. They rarely fall, and in order to gather them one must break the bough that bears them."

André Rançon adds (page 36) that the n'taba is related to the kola nut. It is apparently a sort of false kola tree.

The n'taba fruits ripen from December to April. The Mossi and Gourounsi eat them when they have dried out on the tree, or
65 else as they come /fresh/, or after boiling them for a quarter of an
435 hour. They are sold on Mossi markets at the price of three for 1 cowrie, six for 2 cowries, etc., that is to say, 150 for 1 sou.

272 These fruits are also used to prepare a drink among the Mossi and Gourounsi. They are boiled, mashed, placed in a canari filter, that is, a canari perforated at the bottom which is placed on top of another canari. Water is poured upon the fruits /507/, becomes permeated with the juice, and passes on to the bottom canari. This drink is sweet and tastes like honey.

222 Let us cite also the kamsoro (n'kodo in Bambara). It is a very
137 big, thickset tree, with characteristic leaves. The latter are very tough, very large, very thick, their shape ovoidal or rather a little more elongated than an egg, and their color a brilliant green.

The fruits of this tree are eaten throughout the year, especially by children, because ripe ones are to be found at all times.

There are no kamsoro in Gourounga territory.

Let us also cite the véda or ouéda, the caoutchouc liana, called n'saba in Mandé, fôgui in Peuhl, fittigné in Sarakolé, which is also called laré and Vahea senegalensis. This liana bears fruits that ripen in March and April. They might best be compared to oranges. They are green before they ripen and orange-yellow when ripe. Rançon claims that they are delicious. These fruits are eaten as they

222 137 come, and they are not used to prepare any sort of drink.

The n'saba is found almost everywhere in West Africa, but grows scarcer toward the north. It is found in Mossi and Gourounsi territories in very small numbers.

314 The Dagari, who live farther south than the Gourounsi, gather the caoutchouc from the n'saba lianas and make wads with it for the tip of the sticks used to beat their tom-toms. The Gourounsi griot purchase these sticks from the Dagari. The Mossi and Gourounsi do not themselves gather the n'saba caoutchouc.

In the south this liana is used to make cords, but this is not done among the Mossi or Gourounsi.

222 137 261 252 In addition to the plants we have just mentioned and which are utilized at all times, there are others whose products are used almost exclusively in times of famine. Such are the konkouira, sabatouli, silikoré, etc.

The konkouira is a big tree whose Mandé name is n'zéfé. Its leaves are gathered when they are beginning to grow when they are still quite tender. They are mashed in a small mortar with a pestle, and then placed in water for two hours. Then they are worked into balls, with the addition of millet flour. A canari is filled with water and put on the fire /508/, and then twigs are laid across its mouth, parallel to each other, to form a grill on which the konkouira balls are placed. In order to ensure thorough cooking, the balls are covered with an overturned gourd which encloses them and prevents the steam from escaping too rapidly. The balls are steamed in this fashion for one hour, and then they are ready to eat.

These leaves are never eaten straight but always with millet flour, and they really serve to stretch the flour supply. If they were eaten straight, they would cause colic. In any case they cause hiccups (gounsounkouira in Mossi). They are therefore more a food for times of famine.

The silikoré or kalanianga (both are Mossi names) is a small thorny bush that grows around trees and bears very small fruits. The women gather those fruits during the rainy season. They mash them in a small trough and then boil them in a canari. This first water is discarded, and the fruits boiled a second time. Again the water is discarded, and the fruits are washed in cold water. Karité butter and salt are added, and the mixture is eaten. The silikoré are used

222 chiefly in times of famine, but occasionally at other times also.
137 The silikoré fruits are not eaten among the Gourounsi and Bam-
261 bara.
252 Gonsé is called sofarangoni in Bambara. It is a shrub, the height of a man, that yields kéména. The latter is a pod containing small flat beans of a sort, very thin, that ripen at the time of the millet harvest. These /beans/ are boiled twice, and the water is discarded both times. Then they are washed in cold water and boiled again, for the last time, in a canari covered with a straw lid. Once this is done karité butter is added, and the mixture is eaten. Kéména
[435] is sold at market ready made. A handful is worth 5 cowries (1/2 centime). Kéména is also mixed with /true/ beans and either eaten or sold in this fashion.

Lamboye is called béré in Bambara, guidili in Peuhl. It is found almost everywhere in the Sudan. Its fruits, or rather seeds, are eaten only in times of famine. They are round, very /509/ tiny, and they ripen during the dry and warm season. They are gathered, laid out in the sun, and then crushed in a small mortar to break the outer membrane. Once this is done, they are soaked in water for eight days. This water is discarded, and the seeds are washed twice. Then they are boiled, salt is added, and they are eaten. This is done only in times of famine. These seeds are poisonous, as we can see, and would be toxic if they were not submitted to these various processes.

222 Sabatouli (bembé in Bambara and Sôninké) is a tree whose fruits
137 ripen one month after the first rains (that is, in May). The fruit is very tiny, no larger than a grain of maize. One eats it as it comes, when passing by or clearing land in the bush, or else one takes it to the village children. Nothing else is done with it. Sabatouli is found almost everywhere in the Sudan.

Vâka is a tree which is called goumou or goumbou in Bambara. The flowers of this tree, which are red, are used to make sauce when there is no gombo left. It is called fofo in Nounouma and Sissala, kafro in Kassouna. Its fruits are not eaten.

We overlooked the jujube tree above. It is called mourouga in Mossi, n'tomono in Bambara, gouésso in Nounouma and Kassouna. The Mossi eat the fruits only when traveling through the bush. The Gourounsi do not eat them at all.

222
137 Let us mention also kankalra (lenga in Mandé), whose leaves are eaten by the Mossi.

We have just reviewed the trees and shrubs whose produce is utilized by the Mossi. We must still say a word about mushrooms, wild roots, and wild fodder.

Mushrooms are called goudou in Mossi, dakon in Nounouma and Kassouna, kon in Sissala. They grow in the Mossi bush during the winter season, as they do in Gouròunsi territory and incidentally throughout West Africa, and they are gathered by the women. Two kinds are distinguished, the /510/ termite-nest mushrooms (yaoré-goudou in Mossi, from yaoré, "termite nest," and goûdou, "mushroom") and the mushrooms that grow among refuse. The latter are called niandara-goûdou, meaning "straw mushrooms," because they grow chiefly under old discarded roof thatch. These mushrooms taste better, but those on termite nests are bigger.

● 252 The Mossi cook mushrooms in karité butter, mash them in the butter, and eat them. They also use them to make a sauce for the sarabout to which body is added with beans, cooked separately and also mashed. The sarabout (Mossi name for tô) is eaten after dipping in the bean-and-mushroom sauce.

Gourounsi women boil the mushrooms and then leave them to dry on the soukala roofs. They take a handful or two a day for their sauces. To this end, they boil the mushrooms again without mashing them and add soumbara and salt. Mushrooms are never served as a separate dish among the Gourounsi.

222
137 Let us proceed to edible roots.

Vidiba is a sort of wild onion called fanto by the Bambara, Sarakolé, and Foulbé.

261
252 The Bambara use vidiba leaves to make sauce, but they do not eat the onion itself because it is poisonous. The Mossi do likewise, except in times of famine. At such times, the onion is rubbed with sand until the black membrane is removed, and then it is copiously washed. Then it is boiled in a canari filled with water to the brim and covered, and the cooking is maintained until all the water has evaporated. Then ashes are gathered, strained, and added to the contents of the gourd. The mixture is stirred with a piece of wood, and then the vidiba is removed, cut to pieces, and eaten.

592 only one or two meters apart, close together. It is true that there
361 is sometimes a small plot within the séko....
171 The soukala or compound is called iri in Mossi, the hut rogo or dogo, and the soukala head irisoba (from soba, "chief" and iri, "compound").

462 We shall close this analysis of the Mossi family with a few notes
562 on the status of women and that of slaves.

First of all, Mossi women help with the tilling. They do not clear the fields, it is true, but they participate in all other field tasks along with the men. They do this only in the morning, however, since they spend the afternoon on household tasks or on their little individual plots, for they have small fields of large white millet, underground peas, beans, or peanuts.

They also do household tasks: they pound and crush the grain. Large millet or sorghum is, as we know, pounded first and then crushed, while small millet is crushed after being threshed.

462 The Mossi set their crushing stones in huge round clay /banco/
252 tables which are built outside the soukala and which are used by
412 the whole quarter. This is a strictly Mossi characteristic which is not found among the /558/ Bobo, Gouroun si, etc., in short, among any of the other groups who nevertheless use the same stones. Those large round tables are not high. They are about 1 or 1.20 meters in height and approximately 6 meters in diameter, with a correspondingly large circumference. The Mossi set in their crushing stones all around the circumference, and each table can thus hold ten, twelve, or even more. Every evening at nightfall the women of the soukala which are around it, women, young girls, etc., come together to crush their grain. They are usually in the simplest of garb, bare as the back of my hand, for the work is hard and demands a continuous back-and-forth motion of the arms, the upper part of the body, and the body as a whole.

To make those tables, they first build a circular wall to the desired height of the table, and then the whole inner space is filled up with earth almost to the top. This earth is pounded thoroughly, and then well-tamped casings are fashioned on the horizontal circumference in which are set the stones on which the crushing is done. The stones are firmly ensheathed in the clay, which is then allowed to dry.

462 252 442 Those large tables are called niénouga in Mossi, the stones on which the crushing is done are called néré, and the movable stones used for crushing are called nérébila "little néré"/.

171 252 442 We stated above that those large clay tables are peculiarly Mossi and are not to be found among the Bobo, Habé, or Gourounsi. Actually the latter, as we saw earlier, set their stones in small clay tables which are only 1 meter high and 1 meter in diameter and thus quite small, and which stand in every soukala inside each woman's room. They also make slightly larger tables, long ones that look like large earthen bathtubs of a sort or that even bear a certain resemblance to crude sarcophagi, and into which the stones are set. Those, too, stand within the soukala, in dark, dirty rooms. Sometimes, the Gourounsi merely set down their crushing stones under a shelter covered with wood and straw, built at the gate of their citadel-soukala. Three or four stones are placed upon two thick and solid parallel sticks which in turn are held /559/ about 50 centimeters from the ground on four solid forks thrust into the ground. In this case the woman must kneel down in order to crush the grain. I have observed this method chiefly among the Menkiéra, that is to say, in the northern part of the Leo residency.

462 To go back to female work among the Mossi. Along with the crushing of grain, they do the cooking, fetch firewood and water, do the gathering, prepare the products derived from gathering, etc. We saw earlier how those products are made, and we shall not go over it again.

252 171 Among the Mossi, the only known millet dishes are sarabout and vessala. Couscous is unknown. This is rather strange, since the dish thus called is known practically throughout West Africa.

Sarabout (the Mossi word) is what the Malinké and Bambara call tô, the Foulbé, Toucouleur, and Foulah niri, the Sarakolé souré, the Maure /Moors/ lisi.

As for couscous, the Malinké and Bambara call it baci, the Foulbé, Toucouleur, and Foulah lakiri, the Sarakole fouto, the Moors and Arabs couscous.

To or sarabout is prepared for immediate consumption. Couscous is prepared for relatively long storage.

252 This is how their methods of preparation differ. To make to or sarabout, one simply leaves the millet flour to cook in boiling water, stirring occasionally with a piece of wood or a spoon. To make couscous, on the other hand, one takes a canari, fills it with water, sets it to boil on the fire, and then puts the millet into a gourd which is perforated at the bottom and thus makes a sort of strainer. This gourd is placed over the canari where the water is boiling, and covered with a straw dish. The steam emanating from the canari comes through the holes into the gourd, and since the latter is covered the steam remains there a long time. The millet flour is thus cooked by steaming. At the end of a period of time, the gourd is removed and its contents are left to cool and to dry in the sun. Once the millet flour has thus been cooked and dried, it will keep /560/ almost indefinitely. It is eaten either with water or with milk, which is better, or else, if one has some meat, by boiling the latter and pouring the sarabout into the pot.

The Mossi may not be familiar with couscous, but they are familiar with vessala. This method of preparing millet consists of boiling the flour as it is boiled for sarabout. The difference lies in the amount of flour used. When the mush has been cooked it is allowed to cool, and then fresh or curdled milk is bought and mixed in with it. This kind of mush is made only for the purpose of mixing [171] it with milk. The Bambara are familiar with vessala and call it by name of fisan or finsan.

484 The Mossi, when they are traveling, often cook millet grains 252 which have not been reduced to flour. This is called honandourou-ki 171 ("cooked millet"). The Bambara call it niobalabala, the Foulbe m'bafna-gaouri, the Sarakolé ilé-n'kioro, and all these words have the same meaning. This method of preparing millet is quite unusual, and is resorted to only when the time or means to reduce millet grains to flour are lacking.

[462] Mossi women also make dolo (dama). To do this, they soak the 273 grains of large red millet in water for two days, and then expose them to the sun and crush them. The flour is boiled for two hours, and then strained and boiled in the necessary amount of water for a whole day. This is transferred to another canari and allowed to cool.

592 and young girls. Thus, there are six groups altogether, but we must
264 add that when the women do not get along well, each one eats in her own hut with her own children. In the smaller compounds, there cannot be six groups; there are only two basic ones, that of the men and that of the women.

592 For the preparation of food during the seven months when millet
252 furnished by the head of the work group is eaten, or in other words the millet from the communal fields (roughly from April to October), each woman is "on duty" for 24 hours and cooks for the whole group. The other women help her, of course, by fetching water, pounding millet for her, etc. During the five months when the millet from the small private fields is eaten (November-March), each woman prepares her husband's food. When a husband has several wives, they take turns preparing the food.

592 /231/ As we can see, the manner of preparing meals follows the
252 schedule of millet consumption. While the communal grain distributed
264 by the head of the work group or under his supervision is being consumed, cooking is done on a work group basis. During the time when the millet from household fields is being consumed, the preparation of meals is on a household basis. The actual consumption of the meals, however (except when people are working in the fields) involves a larger community, that of the compound. There remains, however, the basic division between men and women, who must not eat together and who always split into two groups at mealtime. In the larger compounds, moreover, each of these two major groups is further divided into subgroups according to natural age lines. Finally, to cap it all, the female spirit of anarchy sometimes causes some of the women to withdraw. Hence, for the consumption and preparation of food as well as for its production, there exists only this very unstable community which is characteristic of the family we are studying.

592 Exceptions.—We come now to the Mossi household, which we
182 shall discuss at some length. Before doing so, however, it must be stated that the family as we have just described it has its exceptions here and there.

First, there are exceptions in the sense of community, in the sense of integration; above all, there are exceptions in the sense of greater disintegration.

585 On the appointed day the fiancé sends two men of his family, one
[431] of whom is usually his brother, to fetch his bride. These two natives come to the home of the family head with 13 canari /jars/ of dolo. Then the feasting begins.

[782] The father takes his daughter to the hut of the ancestors, cuts the throat of a chicken on the fetish stone so the future marriage will be happy, and discloses to her the name of her husband.

The young fiancée, escorted by two old women of her family and the two emissaries of her fiancé, proceeds to the latter's home.

For four days the young bride will stay in a hut alone with the old women. During this period, the old women give her all the customary advice and show her the course of behavior she must follow to please her future spouse.

The bridegroom comes every day to greet the old women, but during this interview the young girl takes great care to hide her face from him.

On the third day, in the evening, the husband has a sheep and goat slaughtered. He chooses a leg of mutton which he puts aside with the
●[252] animal's skin, and he has a large quantity of sarabou /millet mush/ cooked along with the remaining meat. He takes the whole thing to the old women. They distribute the sarabou among all the members of the family and carefully put aside the leg of mutton and the skin which they will take on the following day to the girl's mother to show her that her daughter has indeed been delivered to her husband.

Then the husband has his bride brought to his hut where the marriage is consummated.

There is nothing compulsory about this four-day waiting period. It happens frequently that the consummation of the marriage takes place on the day following the young girl's arrival. Occasionally it is delayed for several days when, as sometimes happens, an elderly fiancé gives the bride who was originally intended for him to his son or to some other member of the family.

The marriage is valid from the day of the departure of the old women who brought the girl to her husband's soukala.

The consummation of the marriage is by no means necessary to validate the union. If the husband neglects his new bride for too long, however (a year, for example), she may demand explanations." /240/

582 Impediments to marriage. —"The impediments to marriage," says Vadier, "are as follows.

462 Women's tasks.—First of all, Mossi women help with the cultivation of the soil. They do not clear land for tillage, but during the winter season they do all the other agricultural tasks in competition with the men. Since they must also pound the grain, cook, and do other household tasks, however, they cannot work in the fields as long as the men. When there are several wives, they share the labor. Some devote themselves to housework while others work in the fields. When there are not enough of them to permit such a division of labor, they allow the men to leave in the morning and do not join them with the food until about 10 or 11 o'clock. After the meal and the noonday rest, they work with the men, but they leave the fields earlier to prepare the evening meal. Before returning to the village, however, the women work on their little individual plots, but only for a short time, while the men, after leaving the communal fields, linger in their own small fields until nightfall.

Besides working in the fields, the women do household chores. [253] They pound the grain in mortars and crush it on the crushing stones. We shall speak again about these mortars, pestles, and stones under "The Mode of Subsistence" /not translated/.

They do the cooking and prepare the various Mossi dishes which we shall describe later /not translated/. They go to get wood in the bush and water at the wells. /244/

Let us add that it is the women who pick the karite /shea/ nuts during the rainy season and the pods of the néré /locust bean/ in the spring (end of March, April). They, too, prepare the karite butter and the néré flour. They also brew dolo and, if need be, the various other drinks of which we have already spoken in the section on crops /not translated/ and to which we shall return under "The Mode of Subsistence" /not translated/.

In addition to their cooking tasks, the Mossi women of Yatenga must perform cleaning chores. They sweep the huts and the whole establishment with bunches of straw tied in the middle with a rope. [556 412] This makes a small primitive broom without a handle, 30 or 40 centimeters long. They launder the clothes and make soap. They spin the cotton, whereas the men weave it. Finally, it is they who tamp the earthen floors and walls of the huts with wooden clappers (in Mossi, silimpandé in the singular, silimpama in the plural) after adding néré water. We shall see later in "Mode of Subsistence (construction of the compound)" how this is done.